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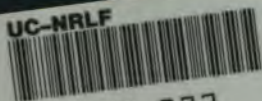
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THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

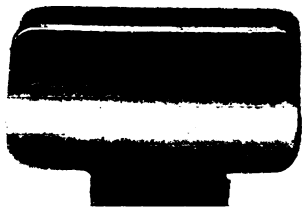
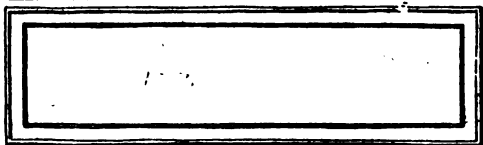
*A Civic Ritual Devised for Places of
Public Meeting in America*

PERCY MACKAYE

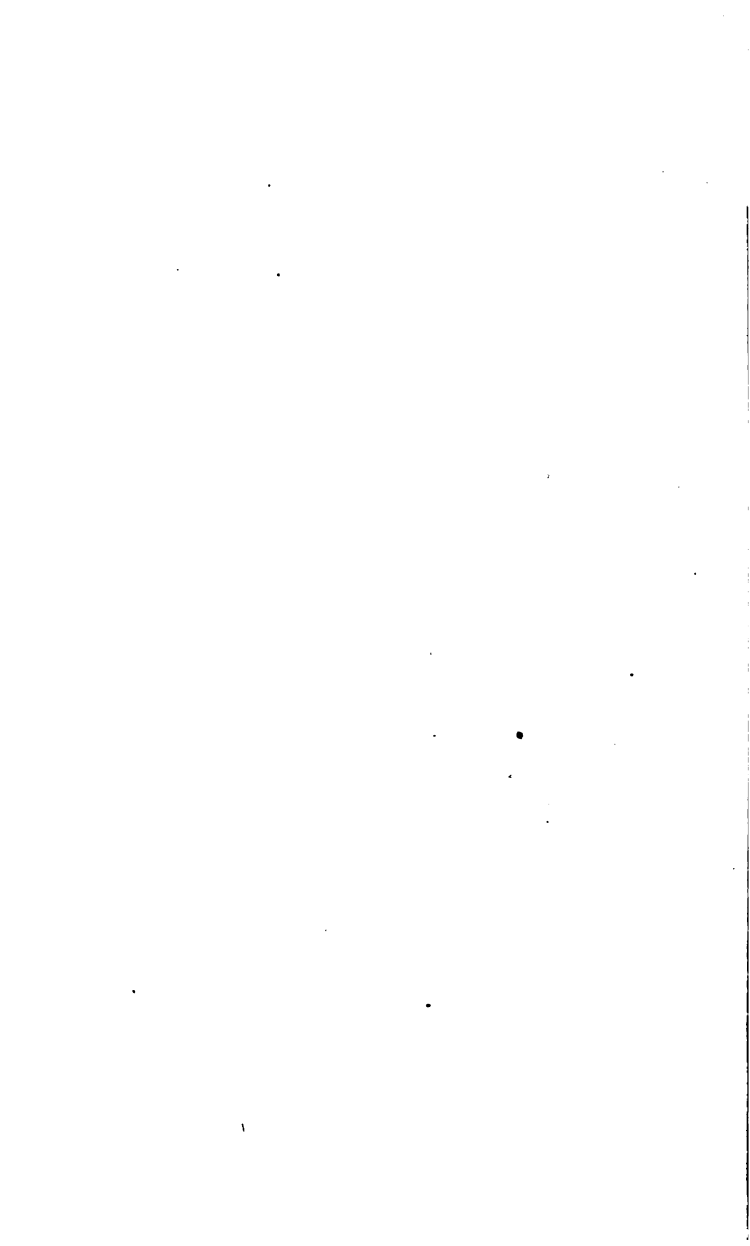
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SAPPHO AND PHAON. A TRAGEDY.
FENRIS THE WOLF. A TRAGEDY.
A GARLAND TO SYLVIA. A DRAMATIC
REVERIE.
THE SCARECROW. A TRAGEDY OF THE
LUDICROUS.
YANKEE FANTASIES. FIVE ONE-ACT PLAYS.
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ANTI-MATRIMONY. A SATIRICAL COMEDY.
TO-MORROW. A PLAY IN THREE ACTS.
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THE ORIENT.
THE IMMIGRANTS. A LYRIC DRAMA.

MASQUES

SAINT LOUIS. A CIVIC MASQUE.
SANCTUARY. A BIRD MASQUE.
THE NEW CITIZENSHIP. A CIVIC RITUAL.

POEMS

THE SISTINE EVE, AND OTHER POEMS.
URIEL, AND OTHER POEMS.
LINCOLN. A CENTENARY ODE.
THE PRESENT HOUR.

ESSAYS

THE PLAYHOUSE AND THE PLAY.
THE CIVIC THEATRE.
A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR.

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THE NEW CITIZENSHIP



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**THE
NEW CITIZENSHIP**

**A CIVIC RITUAL
DEvised FOR PLACES OF PUBLIC
MEETING IN AMERICA**

**BY
PERCY MACKAYE**

**New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1915**

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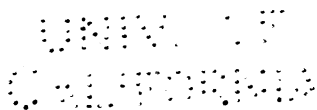


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PREFACE

THE object of the ceremony here described is to provide a pioneer step in helping to create an appropriate national ritual of American Citizenship. With this object in view, its form is designed to meet two important requirements of a ceremony adapted to the public gathering of newly naturalized citizens: first, to symbolize to eye and ear — within brief time-limits — the main historical significances of the living tradition of American liberty; and secondly, to introduce into this historical background the new significances of Americanization to-day.

The basis of our American liberties is

333850

democracy; the basis of democracy is a citizenship consecrated to its aims. If, then, we desire our liberties to endure and grow, must we not take all needful steps to welcome and consecrate all newcomers to the vows of American Citizenship?

Are we doing so? What are the facts?

In the Appendix of this volume¹ the reader may examine a brief table of immigration statistics, furnished by the authorities at Ellis Island.

From the figures given he will see that there are in America to-day at least 15,000,000 foreign-born white persons, of whom more than 3,000,000, over 21 years of age, are wholly unnaturalized. Of these 15,000,000, save for what small percentage are obtaining any real civic education in the schools—the vast

¹ See page 89.

majority are essentially out of touch with the basic traditions of liberty and democracy for which Washington and Lincoln labored.

More than one-sixth of our American population not yet Americanized!

Yet, in a time of unexampled world crisis, these millions are expected to feel for the Stars and Stripes a spirit of devotion, to which if need be they must sacrifice their lives.

In the face of these portentous facts, can any American educator, statesman or artist seek to render a public service more timely than to help mould this groping chaos of citizenship into structural forms for the harmonious expression of American ideals?

The present attempt is the merest of beginnings. In its very nature a true

civic ritual must be a coöperative expression, evolved by manifold social tests, aspirations and inventions. But the incentive to make a definite beginning is urgent. So, when last May I was asked by the Citizenship Day Committee, appointed by the Mayor of New York City, to suggest a form of ceremony suitable for observance by newly naturalized citizens in the City College Stadium, I was very glad to make the attempt.

The first intended plan of celebration, as proposed by Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, was to hold a meeting of welcome to the new citizens in the stadium, or in the Madison Square Garden, on July 4, 1915, and for that I submitted suggestions which were accepted by the Committee and form the basis of the ritual

here set forth. The time, however, proving too short for the needful preparations, the meeting was postponed to a later date, when it is proposed to give the first test of the ceremony. For this the Committee, under Chairmanship of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn, are — at the date of this preface — taking preliminary steps.

But though this civic ritual, as here described, is intended for use in the City College Stadium in New York, it is not intended to be limited to such use. The need it seeks to fill being a national one, not merely a local, it is designed to be at the service of whatever American community, committee, school, or civic society may desire to use it. To secure permission for such use, the committee or persons desiring to use it should first

communicate with the author in care of the publishers of this volume.

As here set forth the ceremony may seem to demand an ample architectural setting, large-scale mass effects, and expert stage management. These, of course, are necessary requirements for its production in a large stadium and for its greatest impressiveness; but if these are impracticable to secure in local cases, they may be judiciously modified or in good measure dispensed with.

Just as a masque or play may — within limits — be adapted to a scale elaborate or simple, so with this ritual. My play, "The Canterbury Pilgrims," for instance, which was produced in 1909, as a pageant at Gloucester, Massachusetts, with 1500 participants before an audience of 25,000 people, has often

been performed by 15 or 20 of the Curn Players before intimate audiences on college campuses, or on town hall platforms.

Thus, in this ceremony, the massive background of architecture may, if necessary, be simply suggested by the hanging folds of curtains, and the whole scale of its production may be adapted to the practical requirements of any normal place of public meeting.

Indeed the form of the ritual developed itself in my mind from the simple precedents of the old American town-meeting: above on a platform, the presiding chairman; and speeches by citizens from the floor.¹

¹ To these two planes a third plane [that of the ground circle and civic altar] is necessarily added by the conditions of outdoor production.

Since the days of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry down through Daniel Webster to the present time, the American citizen speaking in public to his fellow citizens has developed the art most indigenous to our democracy. In their great moments of leadership, these citizen speakers have been the lay prophets of our civic religion. Such Lincoln was at Gettysburg. As such it becomes an inspiring task for the growing art of community drama to relate these individual spokesmen to the large symbolic aspects of our national life by means of a pertinent and revealing pageantry: in short, to evolve an authentic civic ritual from the Puritan simplicities of a Yankee town-meeting.

This revealing task of art becomes ever more important as our constrained

town-meeting becomes crowded and overwhelmed by the multitudinous desires and colorful temperaments of the world races. Such is the immense task of this very small beginning. The means of experiment I have tried are these :

To impress on the new citizens briefly and intensely the meanings of American citizenship, time and space in my ritual are epitomized to their main significances.

Thus the presiding chairman of our American centuries, past and to come, is fittingly the Spirit of Liberty, and the citizen speakers are chosen not from one era but out of the total tradition of our liberties : from the past only as their public utterances still survive in present usefulness, and from the present only as their utterances take rank with the great traditions of American ideals.

Here, then, at the altar of our English-speaking tradition of liberty gather the manifold cultures, languages, arts and crafts of all peoples in the persons of our new citizens. And here is the most inspiring occasion for revealing the multiform meanings of America, and for giving scope to those enlightened ideals of *the new citizenship* which stand not for the levelling away of all world-cultures to leave bare an American mediocrity, but for the welcoming of all world-cultures to create an American excellence: not for a national melting-pot to reduce all precious heritages to a cold puddle of shapeless ore, but for a national studio to perpetuate them in new creative forms of plastic life.

For, as President Wilson has recently said in speaking to these new citizens

of ours, they are welcome here from their foreign lands when they come "bringing what is best of their spirit" — and that best comprises the ancient arts and folk cultures of the world which our ignorance or apathy have too long allowed to wither here, when they might make us the richest of the nations in spiritual treasures.

Thus in this ceremony, by their racial symbols of color and dance, these contributing cultures must be revealed to the eyes, and by their native hymns and folk songs — to the ears of that composite mind, the American audience, in whose ritual the new citizens are themselves participants.

For these essential reasons the national groups, the native hymns, dances and responses, are used in the ritual, so that

there may be borne in upon all of us Americans a sense of those contributing influences upon our national life, and of our responsibility to conserve for our children the still living beauty, the ancient dignity, the noble joy and vitality of those folk cultures.

One apparent omission in the features of this ritual calls for comment in this preface. Since the implications of citizenship are not limited to male citizens, it may perhaps be asked by advocates of equal suffrage why all special allusion to woman and her struggle for freedom is omitted from a ritual of citizenship.

The question, I think, is pertinent, but it contains its own answer. It is for the very reason that women, equally with men, in justice "are and of a right ought to be free and independent"

citizens, that no special feature is required for woman in a ritual of citizenship.

In those states where women have already secured political equality, the words and forms of this ritual will serve their use equally with men; and in other states, until such equality is attained, no partial feature of compromise could — with justice to the great cause of equal rights — be inserted in a ritual presided over by the Spirit of Liberty. Early in the conferences of the New York Citizenship Committee [a majority of whom, including myself, are strongly in favor of equal suffrage], the introduction of a special woman's feature was considered and at first advocated, but afterwards rejected for the above reasons, and for the reason also that for those of

the Committee who sincerely disbelieve in equal suffrage the introduction of this controversial element would destroy that spirit of civic harmony which it is the purpose of the ritual to further and create.

One other feature — some form of dialogue and responses for the native-born First Voters — has not been given emphasis in the ritual as here described for its use by the New York Committee, since for that purpose the emphasis is necessarily upon the foreign-born new citizens; but the dedication of native-born voters to the rights and duties of their citizenship is none the less of real moment, and might well deserve the main emphasis of a pageant ceremony.

If the reader or writer of this preface were a man who, born in a foreign land,

had been drawn by dreams of ideal liberty and opportunity to this new world, and here, having counted the days till the dawn of that great day of his becoming an American Citizen, had braved the red tape of government routine to hold at last in his hand the long desired papers of his naturalization, — these are some of the phrases which would first meet his glance, printed on the envelope containing his certificate :

“Whoever shall falsely make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely made, forged or counterfeited . . .

“Whoever shall engrave, or cause or procure to be engraved, or assist in engraving, any plate . . . designed for the printing of a certificate of citizenship . . .

“Whoever, when applying to be admitted a citizen, shall . . . falsely make, forge or counterfeit any oath, notice, affidavit, order, record, signature . . .

“Whoever shall use or attempt to use, or shall aid, assist or participate in the use of any certificate of citizenship, knowing the same to be forged, counterfeit, or antedated . . . or, whoever, without lawful excuse, shall have in his possession any blank certificate . . . with the intent unlawfully to use the same . . .

“. . . shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.”

Now without doubt it is a wise and necessary provision of law that those who abuse the rights and privileges of our citizenship should be dealt with correctively, for the abuse of citizenship is the abuse of that which every citizen ought to feel to be a sacred thing. Yet it may well be doubted whether the emphasizing of legal penalties and taboos is the most effective and gracious way of instilling a feeling of the sacredness

of any right or privilege into the hearts and minds of human beings, or of inspiring them with devoted confidence in the makers of the penalties.

Rather it would appear that a wiser emphasis will take better account of the psychology of our new citizens, by recognizing that, to the great majority, the hour of their naturalization is itself a sacred hour, which calls on our part, not first for a warning against their possible criminal tendencies, but first for a welcome to the honest aspirations which they undoubtedly bring to quicken our own.

So, for the sake as much of the native-born as of the alien-born, some more helpful and better organized way of welcoming our new citizens than has hitherto pertained is an urgent need.

If this civic ritual shall serve to emphasize and meet that need even a little, it will serve the object for which it has been devised.

PERCY MACKAYE.

CORNISH, NEW HAMPSHIRE

August, 1915.

NOTE

As stated in the Preface, this ritual "is designed to be at the service of whatever American community, committee, school, or civic society may desire to use it."

It can be used on a simple or elaborate scale.

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THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

PERSONS IN THE RITUAL*

SYMBOLICAL PERSONS

Liberty (a man).

America (a woman).

The Forty-eight States (child dancers).

The Thirteen Original States (girl dancers).

HISTORICAL PERSONS

Thomas Jefferson.

The Signers of the Declaration of Independence
(fifty-six men).

Alexander Hamilton.

Benjamin Franklin.

George Washington.

Abraham Lincoln.

MODERN PARTICIPANTS

The New Citizens of the United States :

Their Group Leaders (men, women, and
children).

Their Folk Dancers (men, women and
children).

Their Individual Spokesmen (men).

Woodrow Wilson, through a Citizen Representa-
tive.

* Those who speak as individuals, or read addresses, are indicated by italics.



ORDER OF PROCEDURE

THE SCENE

THE physical place of the pageant-ceremony here described is the chief public meeting place of any American community, so arranged in its setting as to suggest that symbolic place of American citizenship which is not bounded by merely local or temporal surroundings.

As explained in the note of introduction, the ceremony may be used indoors or out-of-doors, by day or by night, on a scale simple or elaborate. As here set forth, however, its features are adapted to the large scale purposes of a community gathering held in an outdoor stadium at night.

The background of the stage is a high painted wall of wood, serving structurally as an outdoor sounding board for the voices and music, and pictorially [but not literally] to suggest [below] the old colonial interior and [above] the balcony exterior façade of Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Through this wall three great doors, [at left, right and centre] give entrance, below, upon the stage platform, and one smaller door, above, gives entrance upon the balcony, directly over the great door at centre.

On either side of the wall, the background is extended by wings, which reach to the end of the stadium, shutting off the outside surroundings.

In each of these wings a great door gives entrance upon the circular ground

space before the stage, to which broad steps lead up at centre. At left and right of the steps — their first rows forming parts of the arc of the circle — are seated the band musicians and choral singers.

At the centre of the ground circle — serving as the heart of the group ceremonies on the ground plane — stands the Civic Altar, a simple low square structure, encompassed by wide steps.

THE ACTION

When the ceremony begins, the ground and stage are in darkness. Only above, a ruddy glow bursts from the balcony door, through which a boy Trumpeter comes forth and blows three peals upon his trumpet. With the final peal the lower plane now first appears in light,

revealing the stage, set with the high backed colonial chairs of Independence Hall, ranged symmetrically about a table [at centre], on which lies a great scroll.

FIRST GROUP MOVEMENT

Here, through the central door, enter the fifty-six Signers of the Declaration of Independence, dressed in the costumes of 1776, who seat themselves in the chairs. Last among these come Robert R. Livingston, Roger Sherman, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, who take places at the table, Jefferson in the centre.

SECOND SUMMONS

At a sign from Jefferson, a Boy Page goes at back to a bell-rope, which hangs

from beneath the balcony, and pulls it [between pauses] as many times as there are numbers of groups represented in the processional pageant which now enters. At each pull of the rope a deep bell sounds, each stroke giving the signal cue for the entrance of a separate procession of the new citizens.

SECOND GROUP MOVEMENT

At this signal now appear from the two wing doorways the Chief Marshal and two Assistant Marshals of the New Citizens. They are followed by the first group Leaders, each comprising a man, woman and child in national folk costume. Of these the man carries an [unfurled] flag,¹ the woman a symbol of

¹ One of the Leaders carries also [furled] an American flag, to be unfurled, later in the ceremony, from the audience. See page 68.

the arts and crafts, and the child a musical instrument distinctive of the group represented. Assuming the ceremony to be held on Columbus Day, the first group to enter may appropriately be the Italian Group.

Entering to the music of their national hymn [played by the band musicians, sung by the chorus and by the group themselves in their native language], the Italian Leaders move forward from both doors, followed by the New Citizens from Italy dressed in their usual modern garb.¹ These are followed by the Folk

¹ Though of necessity dressed in modern garb as Americans, each citizen may appropriately carry some colorful symbol both of his native land and of his new country such as may be designated by the director of the ceremony. With time and usage, and for purposes of ensemble harmony of color and civic feeling, some simple and distinctive sym-

Dancers of the group in national costume, forming the rear.¹ Passing in procession around the ground circle the two Leaders of the group converge and meet, centre, at the foot of the stadium, where one group of Leaders conducts them to their reserved seats, and takes its stand there with the national flag and emblems, while the other group of Leaders, followed by the Folk Dancers, moves to the ground

bollic overgarment also may well come to be adopted, such as that worn by the audiences of the Redwood Grove Masques of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in their annual outdoor festival. In such wise some apt and revealing form of American national costume may hopefully be developed.

¹ As the final group, there may enter the group of First Voters, young native-born citizens, whose leaders may be dressed in symbolic garb of the American colors [like the Chief Marshal and his Assistants], or in academic gown, with the hood lined with red, white and blue.

circle and takes its place at an assigned position near the Altar.

*SECOND GROUP MOVEMENT:
VARIATIONS*

In like manner, group by national group, the other New Citizens enter singing and marching to the hymns¹ of their native lands, until all [Russians, Scandinavians, Poles, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, etc.] are assembled. Thus one

¹ These hymns [as may seem desirable] may either be the national hymns, or the folk and religious hymns of the different peoples. At the present time of war, the latter are probably to be preferred; for example "Hellige Nacht" instead of "Die Wacht am Rhein." The essential object is, of course, to represent, through symbols of eye and ear, the distinctive national cultures contributed to our country as the common heritage of Americans, an object which is indeed the fundamental aim and *raison d'être* of this ceremony.

half of their costumed Leaders, together with their Folk Dancers, stand massed in color with their flags and emblems in relation to the Altar, while the other half, stationed with their standards in the seats, give distinctive token of the Folk Groups, who as a whole form a participating audience of American Citizens.

THIRD SUMMONS

In the upper plane, the ruddy light streams again from the balcony, where now two Boy Trumpeters entering peal their trumpets thrice, then stand on either side, as — clothed in luminous red — the Spirit of Liberty¹ comes forth

¹ Liberty may be impersonated by a man or woman, but preferably by a man, especially for purposes of a large-scale outdoor gathering, where a man's voice is by far the more impressive. If a woman, her voice should be both mellow and resonant and not high-pitched.

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and, lifting a glowing gavel, strikes it in flame on the rostrum where his right hand falls.

FIRST PROCLAMATION

LIBERTY

[Speaks with resonant voice to the assembled people.]

Citizens of America! In this place of our communion, dedicated to my birth and growth in the new world, I — the Spirit of Liberty — revive in you the memories and hopes of a people consecrated to freedom through democracy.

On the fourth day of July in Philadelphia, one hundred and forty years ago,¹ as then I spoke with the words of Thomas

¹ The precise number of years will, of course, be modified according to the year of the ceremony.

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Jefferson, my servant, hear now his still living presence speak to you !

[The light, disappearing above from the balcony, now illumines below THOMAS JEFFERSON, who rises from the table, and unrolling the document scroll before him, reads from it aloud to the listening FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC and the newly gathered Citizens.]

FIRST ADDRESS AND RESPONSES

JEFFERSON

[Reads with fervent directness and simplicity.]

In Congress: July 4th, 1776.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth a separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation. . . .

We hold these truths to be self-evident,

that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these Rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Governed: That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. . . .

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes. . . . But when a long train of

abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same objects, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies. . . .

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States. . . . And for the support of this declaration . . .

we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

[Concluding, Jefferson pauses and says:]

Gentlemen of the Congress, are you ready to sign this Declaration of Independence?

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS

[Rising and responding with ardor.]

We are.

JEFFERSON

[With gesture again to the Boy Page.]

Let, then, the Bell of Liberty announce our act to the peoples of the World.

[Turning to John Hancock, Jefferson hands him a quill.]

You, Sir, begin.

[Then with simple feeling.]

God Save the United States of America!

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS

[*Responding in like manner.*]

God Save the United States of
America!

[*At these words the bell-rope at back is pulled again, the deep bell rings forth tumultuously, while voices of unseen people are heard cheering and shouting gladly "God Save the Republic!" Meantime the Members of Congress come forward in groups to the document on the table and, as each takes the quill to sign, the Clerk of the Congress — standing near, in the foreground of the stage — may read aloud his name, each in the order of his signing.*]¹

¹ John Hancock, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry, Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton,

[When the last one has signed and all are returning to their seats, Jefferson lifts the document, rolls it again as a scroll and places it before him.

[As he does so the bell ceases and a great set-piece of fireworks bursts from the ground circle beside the Altar, while the musicians and chorus play and sing one verse of "America" joined in by the assembled citizens.]

FIRST CHORUS

My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,

George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross, Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Keen, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton, Button Gwinnett, Lymna Hall, George Walton.

Of thee I sing :
 Land where my fathers died,
 Land of the pilgrims' pride,
 From every mountain side,
 Let freedom ring !

[As the fireworks fade in darkness, the balcony becomes illumined. There at both ends the Boy Trumpeters blow their trumpets, and the Spirit of Liberty speaks.]

LIBERTY

Citizens ! In support of this Declaration of Independence, my spirit fought and triumphed through Revolution, wherein foremost I inspired the majestic fortitude of George Washington, your First President, and your great Foster-Father.

[Through the right¹ door below, Washington enters in faint light and comes forward to the right front of the stage.]

¹ The audience's left.

On the Seventeenth of September, 1796, after five and forty years of public service to his country, he left for you his message of Farewell. Hold it now in your remembrance!

SECOND ADDRESS AND RE- SPONSES

Fading again from the balcony¹ the light now becomes stronger on the face and form of Washington.

[Clad in a military cloak of deep blue, he speaks to the new citizens, with an old-time dignity, made direct and modern by the ardor of his deep feeling.]

WASHINGTON

Friends and Fellow-Citizens :

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts,

¹ When the ceremony is held at night [as assumed in the description here given] Liberty — having finished speaking — disappears for the time being by the mere removal of artificial light. By day, of course, this could not be effected. By day, therefore, between his

no recommendation of mine is necessary to confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty, which you so highly prize. But it is easy to foresee, that from different causes much pains will be taken to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; so it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the im-

speeches, Liberty may either remain in the balcony or [preferably] make exit after speaking and return at the peal blown by the Trumpeters, which recurs before each of his speeches, to arrest the attention of the outdoor audience.

mense value of your national Union to your happiness; that you should watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety; indignantly frowning upon every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. From union you must derive an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries. Hence, likewise, you will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are particularly hostile to republican liberty.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it is of serious concern that there should be any *geo-*

graphical discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.

The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution. But the very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to executing the laws, therefore, are of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to put in the

place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful minority of the community.

Promote, as an object of primary importance, the diffusion of knowledge. For in proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method is, to use it sparingly by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger prevent much greater disbursements to repel it.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. It will be worthy of this free nation to give mankind the

magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice.

In such a plan, permanent antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded. The nation which indulges either is in some degree a slave. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each to be haughty and intractable, when trifling occasions of dispute occur. So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another, by the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, betrays the one to participate in the quarrels of the other, without adequate justification.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have no relation or a very

remote one. She must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves in her politics, her friendships, or enmities.

If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon will be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations will not lightly hazard giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Harmony with all nations is recommended by humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an impartial hand; neither seeking nor

granting exclusive favors; diffusing by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; constantly keeping in view, that there can be no greater error than to calculate upon real favors from nation to nation.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit; that they will now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the

impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude I feel for your welfare.

[As Washington concludes, the Chief Marshal from beside the civic Altar speaks to the Citizen Leaders.]

THE CHIEF MARSHAL

Remember the words of Washington !

THE LEADERS

[Shout three times.]

Washington !

[As Washington sits in a great chair on the right, the Spirit of Liberty, announced by the Trumpeters, speaks again from above.]

THIRD PROCLAMATION

LIBERTY

Citizens! Still once more through the years my spirit wrestled amidst you in mortal struggle for emancipation, wherein foremost I triumphed in the patient tenderness of Abraham Lincoln, your sixteenth President and your great elder brother.

[Through the left door below, in faint light, Lincoln enters and comes forward to the left front of the stage.]

On the nineteenth of November, 1863, remember his words on the battlefield of Gettysburg.

[The balcony fades in darkness.]

THIRD ADDRESS AND RESPONSES

[Below, the light illumines the rugged face and tall figure of Lincoln. Clothed in suit of black with simple field cloak, he speaks to the New Citizens in tones of homely earnestness.]

LINCOLN

Fellow-Citizens :

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield

of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, — that from these honored dead we take increasing devo-

tion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

[As Lincoln concludes, the Chief Marshal from beside the Altar calls again to the Citizen Leaders.]

THE CHIEF MARSHAL

Long live the memory of Lincoln!

THE LEADERS

[Shout three times.]

Lincoln!

[Lincoln sits in a great chair on the left. Above the Trumpeter summons again the Spirit of Liberty, who speaks.]

FOURTH PROCLAMATION

LIBERTY

Citizens! Symbol of the people's government, your flag — wrought of the United stars of forty-eight States and the stripes of the first Thirteen — your flag unfurls on the altar dedicated to me.

FIRST SYMBOLIC DANCE¹

[While Liberty remains standing above in the light, to an ardent dance music there enter, from the wing doors, two groups of dancers.]

¹ The technique and music for this dance have been devised and composed by Mary Porter Beegle and Arthur Farwell. By the creation of the flag is *not* meant the flag-pattern formation sometimes executed by school children.

From the right, forty-eight children in white tunics [the present States], bearing star-tipt wands, are led by America, a woman in garb of blue, Greek in simplicity. In her hand she bears a furled flag.

From the left, thirteen girls in like garb [the original States] alternately in white and red, bear the streamers of red and white.

Moving in rhythmic procession to the ground circle, they conjoin before the Altar, where America, mounting, stands holding the furled flag in the centre.

Here they perform a dance symbolizing the creation of the American flag. By the movements of this dance the pulsing stars of the child dancers twinkling in shadowy glooms, the flying streamers of the girls fluttering through the varicolored light, mingle in a finale encircling closely the Altar, where America unfurls the silken stars and stripes of her flag in a flare of dawn radiance, just as the dancers, turning swiftly, vanish in the dark whence they came.

At this climax of dance movement and light, the music changes to strains of the Star-Spangled Banner, to which the chorus bursts forth in song.]

SECOND HYMN

THE CHORUS

[Joined in by all the Citizens.]

O say, can you see by the dawn's early
light
What so proudly we hailed at the twi-
light's last gleaming :
Whose broad stripes and bright stars
through the perilous night
O'er the ramparts we watched were so
gallantly streaming :
And the rockets' red glare
The bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our
flag was still there ?

The star-spangled banner, O long may it
 wave
 O'er the land of the free and the home of
 the brave!

[At the conclusion of this stanza of the hymn, America, who has held the flag, now plants it in the centre of the Altar, and herself descends.

As she does so, one of the New Citizen Leaders, [an Italian ¹] moves from his station in the ground circle toward the stage and ascends the central steps bearing the national flag of his group, which he raises toward the Spirit of Liberty, who looks down, lifting his hand in response to the salute.]

¹ For purposes of these printed directions, Columbus Day being assumed as the date of the ceremony, an Italian is selected as first spokesman of the new citizens.

FIRST DUOLOGUE

[With Folk Dances, Group Responses and Hymn.]

THE NEW CITIZEN

Liberty!

LIBERTY

Who comes here?

CITIZEN

A new Citizen of the Republic.

LIBERTY

What do you seek in the ancient presence of its founders?

CITIZEN

The rights which they sought: Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

LIBERTY

What do you pledge in support of these rights?

CITIZEN

I pledge the same as they: my life,
my fortune and my sacred honor.

LIBERTY

Do you make this vow alone, or representing others?

CITIZEN

[Pointing to his group.]

I speak for these others, born in one
Fatherland.

LIBERTY

How do these confirm you?

CITIZEN

*[Addressing his group in the ground circle
and stadium.]*

Fellow citizens from . . . Italy . . .
make answer!

THE MAN LEADER OF THE . .
ITALIAN . . GROUP

[Replies from stadium.]

Viva America! Long live the United
States of America!

THE . . . ITALIAN . . . GROUP

[Following his words and his gesture to them.]

Viva America! Long live the United
States of America!

CITIZEN

[Turning again to the Spirit of Liberty.]

You have heard them.

LIBERTY

Have you and they fulfilled all legal
forms of citizenship?

CITIZEN

We have.

LIBERTY

By what spiritual token do you con-
secrate those forms of law?

CITIZEN

By token of the ancient culture of our . . . Italian . . . people, which we contribute to the joy of our new land. In the treading of this dance¹ of our folk we offer our vows at your altar.

[He signs to the group of . . . Italian . . . folk dancers.]

THE FOLK DANCERS

Men, women and children, moving forward to the open space before the Altar, perform their distinctive dance, to native instruments and music. Concluding, they retire to their former station.

LIBERTY

What further token of loyalty do you bring?

¹ For any of the folk dances may be substituted — according to the choice of the new citizens or the director of the ceremony — a native ballad, athletic game, rondel, choral, or any appropriate distinctive art or craft of the group represented.

CITIZEN

I bring this flag of our Fatherland . . .
Italy.

LIBERTY

How shall that express your loyalty
to your new land?

CITIZEN

By token of this flag and the love we
have long borne it, we dedicate here our
love, labor and loyalty to the flag of
our *children's Fatherland* — the Stars and
Stripes of America.

*[Striding down the steps, he bears the flag of
. . . Italy . . . toward the Altar, where
he plants it, upright, on the steps below
the American flag.*

*As he does so, his group rise in their stadium
seats where their Man Leader furls his
. . . Italian . . . flag, while beside him
the Child Leader unfurls the American
flag and stands holding it.]*

THE . . . ITALIAN . . . LEADER

[Cries aloud from the audience.]

Long live our children's Fatherland
— America!

THE . . . ITALIAN . . . GROUP

*[Shouting as they wave their little American
flags.]*

America!

FIRST DUOLOGUE: VARIATIONS

As the . . . Italian . . . Leader by the Altar resumes his original place in the ground circle, the Leader of another national group in costume [e.g. the Russian, Scandinavian, German, Greek, or whichever group may follow next] moves from his station and, mounting the Altar steps with his flag, raises it toward the Spirit of Liberty above him.

Thus, group by group, the Duologue, Folk Dance and Responses are repeated with such variations as may be provided by the racial temperament of each group; by

the substitution of balladry or athletic game, etc., for the folk dance; by the omission altogether of that feature or its substitute; by the difference of native language in the Group Responses for Viva America! [e.g. Vive l'Amérique! for the French, Es lebe Amerika! for the German, etc.]; or by whatever abbreviation of these features may be deemed needful and appropriate.

Following the foreign-born groups, the American-born First Voters may also hold their feature of the ceremony, reference to which is made in the Preface and in the Appendix.¹

The groups in the stadium are now no longer separately distinguished by their National flags, but are merged in their seats behind the row of standards from each of which floats the flag of America.

At the response of the final group, the musicians begin to play the New World Hymn, which the chorus and the Leaders sing, joined by all the New Citizens.]

¹ See Appendix, page 91.

THIRD HYMN

HYMN OF THE NEW WORLD¹

A star — a star in the west !
Out of the wave it rose :
And it led us forth on a world-far quest ;
Where the mesas scorched and the moor-
lands froze
It lured us without rest :
With yearning, yearning — ah !
It sang [as it beckoned us]
A music vast, adventurous —
America !

A star — a star in the night !
Out of our hearts it dawned !
And it poured within its wonderful light ;
Where our hovels gloomed and our hunger
spawned

¹ See Appendix, page 92.

It healed our passionate blight :
 And burning, burning — ah !
 It clanged [as it kindled us]
 Of a freedom proud and perilous —
 America !

A star — a star in the dawn !
 Bright from God's brow it gleams !
 Like a morning star in ages gone
 With hallowed song its holy beams
 Urge us forever on :
 For chanting, chanting — ah !
 It builds [as it blesses us]
 A union strong, harmonious —
 America !

*[With the ceasing of this hymn, the Spirit of
 Liberty speaks again from the balcony.]*

FIFTH PROCLAMATION

[*With Distribution of Citizenship Papers and Hymn.*]

LIBERTY

Citizens! You of many nations are now united in one nation. Dedicated henceforth to my service, you are thereby dedicated to democracy. But democracy has no privileged race or feudal borderland: it embraces the service of mankind. Therefore, equally and gladly, receive now from the hands of my servants, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin — these papers, the tokens of your American Citizenship, admitting you to the self-governing fellowship of new-world pioneers.

[Below Thomas Jefferson rises and stands before the table, upon which the rolls of citizenship papers are laid by Pages who bring them from the background.

On the right Jefferson hands these rolls to Benjamin Franklin, on the left to Alexander Hamilton. From their hands Boy Scouts — who mount the central steps — receive the papers and distribute them, through the several Leaders, to the assembled New Citizens.

While they do so, the Spirit of America from the Altar and the Chorus¹ sing, to the band music, Walt Whitman's hymn of American Pioneers.]

FOURTH HYMN

HYMN OF AMERICAN PIONEERS¹

Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson,
wearied there beyond the seas?

¹ If the impersonator of America be a singer with splendid voice, this hymn, if desirable,

We take up the task eternal, and the
burden and the lesson,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

All the pulses of the world,
Falling in, they beat for us, with the
western movement beat;
Holding single or together, steady moving,
all for us,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

O you daughters of the west!
O you young and elder daughters! O
you mothers and you wives!
Never must you be divided, in our ranks
you move united,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

may be led by America in solo, joined by the
chorus in the refrain: "Pioneers! O Pioneers!"
See Appendix, page 92.

Not for delectations sweet ;
Not the cushion and the slipper, not the
peaceful and the studious ;
Not the riches safe and palling, not for
us the tame enjoyment,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Do the feasters gluttonous feast?
Do the corpulent sleepers sleep? have
they locked and bolted doors?
Still be ours the diet hard, and the
blanket on the ground,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Has the night descended black?
Was the road of late so toilsome? did we
lag there on our way?
Yet a passing hour I yield you, in your
tracks to pause oblivious,
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Till with sound of trumpet-peal,
Far, far off the day-break call — hark!
 how clear I hear it wind;
Swift! Spring forward to your places! —
 Swift! and bear the brunt of danger,
 Pioneers! O Pioneers!

*[When the hymn is finished, the New Citizens
 meanwhile having all received their papers,
 above them from the balcony the Spirit of
 Liberty speaks again.]*

SIXTH PROCLAMATION

LIBERTY

Citizens! In this task eternal of our pioneering, Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow all are our task-mates.

From the lips of Yesterday you have harkened the words of these your fellow-citizens.

From lips of To-day harken now to one bringing a message for this age of your new citizenship, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, your loyal friend and twenty-eighth President. Your fellow-citizen . . . now brings you his message.

[At this, a modern representative] Citizen, going to the steps of the civic Altar, reads there the following words of President Wilson.]

FOURTH ADDRESS¹

REPRESENTATIVE CITIZEN

[Reads.]

Fellow-citizens:

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no

¹ This excerpt from the address of Woodrow Wilson to the new citizens at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1915 — is here included as a living message of to-day admirably pertinent to the ceremony. It may be read, from the steps of the Altar, by the Leader of the First Voters, or by any representative citizen chosen to do so. Or, if necessary, there may be substituted for it speeches by representative citizens such as the Governor, Mayor, Commissioner of Immigration, etc. In such case, the reference to the words of Woodrow Wilson will be omitted from the speech of Liberty, which will conclude as follows:

one, unless it be God; certainly not to those who temporarily represent this great government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race.

You have said: "We are going to America, not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises

"Your fellow citizen . . . the Governor . . . brings you now his message." In like manner Liberty introduces whatever other modern speaker may address the gathering with the words: "Your fellow citizen . . . the Mayor [or the Commissioner, etc.] . . . now brings you his message." Such modern speakers, if they enter the ground circle with those in symbolic or national costume, appropriately should be dressed [like the Leader of the First Voters] in academic gown [with hood of American colors] and should speak from the steps of the civic Altar.

of the human spirit, to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them, knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing of the human heart, and that is liberty and justice;" and while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you; bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave in them.

I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin. These things are very sacred, and ought not to be put out of your hearts, but it is one thing to love the place where you

were born and another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go.

You cannot dedicate yourselves to America unless you become with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American. And the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the stars and stripes.

For my urgent advice to you would be not only always to think first of America, but always also to think first of humanity.

You who have just sworn allegiance to this great government were drawn across

the ocean by some beckoning finger, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life.

No doubt, you have been disappointed in some of us, and some of us are very disappointing. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand; but remember this, if we have grown at all poor in the ideal, you have brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief.

That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have forgotten in any degree what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man who does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise, and just because you brought the dreams with you, America is more likely to realize the dreams such as you brought.

So, if you come into this great nation, you will have to come voluntarily, seeking something that we have to give. All that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. We cannot exempt you from strife, the heart-breaking burden of the struggle of the day

that has come unto mankind everywhere. We cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry; we can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried, because that is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

Therefore, I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountain with them, and go back and feel the sense of the living vitality of your hearts, and of those great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

[At the closing of the modern message, the Spirit of Liberty speaks again from the balcony to the assemblage.]

SEVENTH PROCLAMATION

LIBERTY

Citizens! You who came to my altar as separate groups depart now as a community of Americans; you who came lonely and individual go forth in the fellowship of a common will — the will for justice and freedom.

Here the past has spoken to you as the living present; here the present, measuring its standards and powers with the past, shapes these anew to create a more just and beautiful to-morrow.

The joy of this task begins now; it requires your dreams and your labor in common; for so by your union you shall help to build the liberty and union of the world.

In this task of mightier federation,
God Speed the United States of America !

[High up in the glowing balcony the Spirit of Liberty raises the flag of America above the assembled Citizens, who — with their Leaders bearing the American colors — depart in procession whence they came, singing the last stanza of the National Hymn.]

SIXTH HYMN

ALL THE ASSEMBLAGE

Our fathers' God to thee
Author of liberty,
 To thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us with thy might,
 Great God, our King !

FINIS

APPENDIX

IMMIGRATION STATISTICS FOR AMERICA

NUMBER OF FOREIGN BORN WHITES IN COUNTRY . .	13,394,213
Number ten years of age or over that cannot speak English	2,953,011
NUMBER THAT CANNOT SPEAK ENGLISH Number of foreign born whites 21 years and over that cannot speak English	2,565,013
NUMBER THAT ARE ILLITERATE .	1,650,361
Foreign born whites ten years or over illiter- ate, <i>i.e.</i> cannot read or write in any language.	

This is 3 per cent of native white population of country and 12.7 per cent of foreign born white population.

Total number of males in country 21 years and over . . .	26,999,151
--	------------

NUMBER THAT ARE ATTENDING SCHOOL —
I.E. ARE ON THE ROAD TO BECOMING LITERATE

Total number of foreign born whites 21 years and over in country . .	11,627,714
--	------------

Number of foreign born whites 21 years and over that attend school . . .	35,614
--	--------

Total number of foreign born whites between ages of 15 and 20 in this country	932,274
---	---------

Number of foreign born whites be- tween 15 and 20 that attend school [11 %] .	102,639
NUMBER THAT ARE NATURALIZED	
Foreign born whites [24.6 %]	6,646,817
Number that are naturalized . . .	3,034,117
Alien	2,266,535
Citizenship not re- ported	775,393

This means that there are at the very least 3,000,000 unnaturalized males over 21 years of age in the United States. The wives and children of these men are also aliens. It is therefore impossible to determine accurately the number of the unnaturalized. In many cases the unnaturalized man means an unnaturalized family of six or seven.

These figures are those given by the 1910 census. Since 1910 more than 5,000,000 immigrants have been added to the population of the United States.

FIRST VOTERS' CEREMONY

For reasons given in the Preface, no wording or devising of this important feature is

included in the present ritual. In case, however, those who may perform the ritual shall feel the need of including in it a First Voters feature, the author will be glad to assist in providing such a feature, which may perhaps be incorporated in some further edition of this ritual.

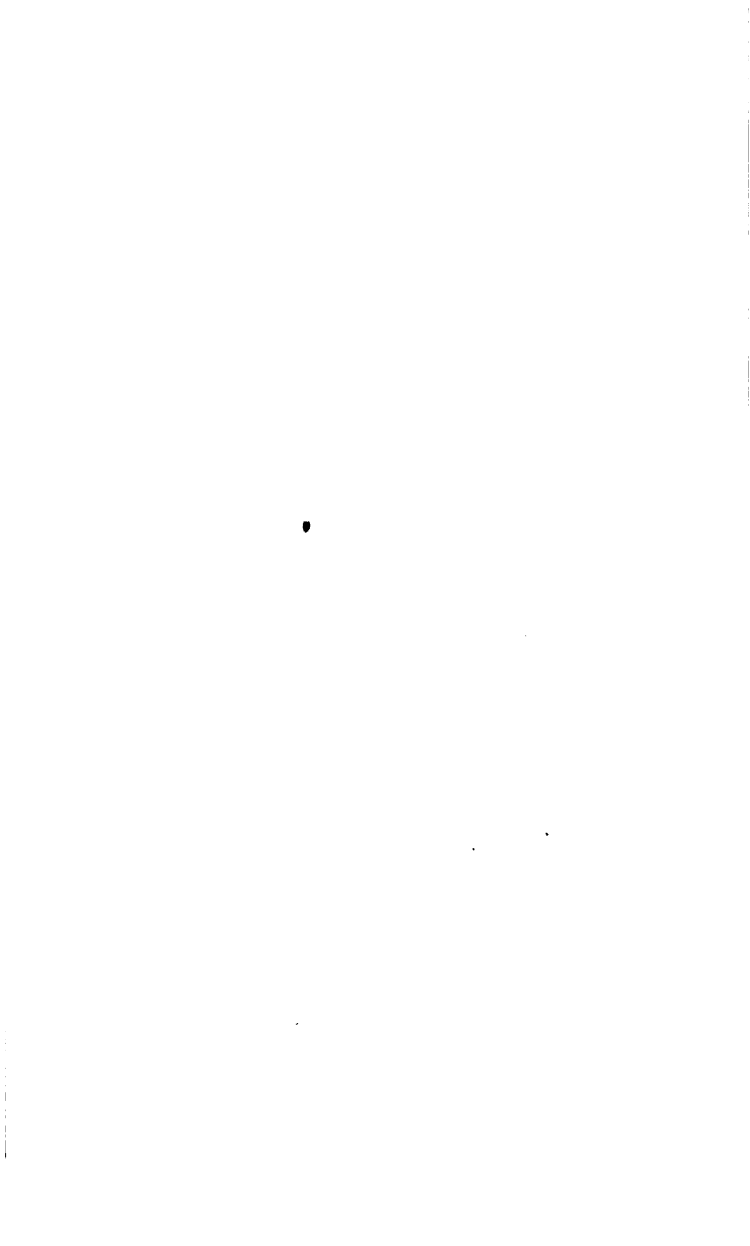
HYMN OF THE NEW WORLD

The first two stanzas of this hymn comprise the Hymn of the World Adventurers in the author's "Saint Louis," *A Civic Masque* (Doubleday Page and Co.), the music for which, composed by Frederick S. Converse, is published by the H. W. Gray Co., 2 West 45th St., New York, and is available in form for distribution to band musicians and choruses.

HYMN OF AMERICAN PIONEERS

Music for this hymn of Walt Whitman has been composed by Arthur Farwell, New York City. The words have been slightly adapted and abbreviated from their original form. As in the case of the Address of Washington and the Declaration of Independence (both of which have been stringently shortened to their time-limit essentials), it is hoped that the adaptation to terse ceremonial use will help to make more widely known a great American utterance.

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